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152 593 years later. Conjugal love is expressed in the following legend, given by the natives as a true story:

> A man from Tahai married a girl from Vai-mata and returned with her to Tahai. There they lived and every day the man went out in his canoe to fish *pei* and tuna which he sent to his father-in-law at Vai-mata. The woman became pregnant and gave birth to a daughter.
>
> There was a famine in the country and the father of the girl came from Vai-mata to stay at Tahai in her house. Tuna and other fish were their only food. On the seventh day the father said to his daughter, "Have you always the same food?" The girl answered, "Yes, there isn't anything else to eat." The husband was then out fishing and the father said to his daughter, "Come with me." The girl said, "All right," and they left together. Many times she tried to go back to her husband but her father made her continue on until they came to Vai-turu where there were plenty of sweet potatoes. The father said, "This is the reason I took you away. Go and enter the house where I live. Light the earth oven and dig out the sweet potatoes and cook them." The girl wept for her child whom she had left behind but she remained and lived with her father.
>
> The husband had seen his wife and her father leave. He immediately came ashore and went to his house. He asked his daughter, "Where is your mother?" "She left with her father," replied the girl. The father told her to get out of the house so that he could close it. The girl left and shut the door. Her father cried, "Look at the house, my daughter, don't open it." He lay down inside, sorrowing because his wife had been taken from him. He stayed in the house without eating for two days and nights and died because he was filled with grief for his wife.

593 Native women who have lived with foreigners complain that native husbands or lovers are often rude and cruel and declare openly that they prefer white men "not only because they are wealthier but also because they are nicer."

562 593 I suppose that most of the details obtained by Thomson and Cooke during the short time they were on Easter Island were given to them by Salmon. Thus the information may be trustworthy. Cooke (54, p. 716) says that "the women were a source of great solicitude and that much consideration was shown them. . . . They are fairly well taken care of, and treated generally with kindness, not to say affection." There is perhaps some exaggeration in his statement, but the preponderance of the male over the female at that time may have contributed to giving the women an exceptional position.

593 In bartering for archaeological specimens I noted that the men generally wanted to have clothes or necklaces for their wives. Former visitors made the same observation and reported that the natives, when presented with gifts, never forgot their wives and children.

462 562 Women do little work. They keep the house in order, cook, help to harvest tubers, and go fishing along the shore. Tilling of the soil is, and was in olden times, a man's activity, and the woman's part in cultivating is secondary. The economic activities of women a few years after the coming of the white men are enumerated by Roussel (190, p. 430) as follows: "The woman must get the sweet potatoes and the wood and grass to cook them. Woe to her if she does not take good care of her housekeeping; she may suffer for her negli-

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gence. She must also beat and dew barkcloth." Plaiting and tapa making 562
should be mentioned among the woman's industries. Contrary to Geiseler's statement (87, p. 41) women never made nets (190, p. 430).

Misled by their preconceived ideas regarding the status of women in 562
primitive societies, the missionaries assumed that before the introduction of 593
Christianity the Easter Island women were drudges. The only recorded instance in which a woman was submitted to drudgery is that in which a chief named Manu walked carefree while his wife bent double under a heavy load. [482]
When the missionary remonstrated, the chief answered, "That is woman's work. He appeared very much ashamed when the missionary compelled him to help with his wife's burden (230, vol. 6, p. 124).

As the general tendency of missionaries is to depict the character of the natives in the darkest colors in order to stress the benefits of their own influence, the mistreatment of women which they report so complacently cannot be accepted as entirely true. Roussel (190, p. 430) says with indignation: "How many times have I not seen husbands striking their wives with a knife on the face or head with the intention of killing or mutilating them!" Such brutalities occur occasionally at present but are not typical of the ordinary behavior of men toward their wives.

Strict separation of sexes during meals does not seem to have been en- 264
forced on Easter Island, at least in daily life. Perhaps chiefs or priests ate 562
apart as is testified by the passage below and by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p 124) who alludes to the fact that sometimes no place was reserved for women at banquets. Roussel (190, p. 430) says:

> No tapu prevents men and women from eating together or with their children of either sex, but the husband, being the strongest, always gets the choicest parts. He must be very much attached to his wife or children before he will give them an equal portion or even leave any portion for them if he is eating chicken or fish. Some husbands receive their food separately.

Divorce

Viriamo was married three times during her long life. She left her first 586
husband who was unsatisfactory and went to live with a Miru man in Anakena. Her third husband was a Tupa-hotu, the father of Tepano. The apparent ease with which she left her first husband suggests that marriage ties were not very strong in the old days. Testimony of the early missionaries verifies this. "The slightest disagreement or disgust between the consorts was sufficient to break the ties that united them" (190, p. 466). "The islanders of Rapa-nui do not consider marriage as an unbreakable tie. Husband and wife were allowed to part by common consent" (230, vol. 6, p. 122). "Divorce in general was very simple. When the husband said to his wife that he did not want her any more, the separation was made. The wife had the same right as her husband" (87, p. 29).

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241 writes (123, p. 124): "All the cultures in the surroundings of Hanga-roa are in bad shape and covered with weeds. They are not manured and their limits are badly indicated." Actually the aspect of each field varies with its owner and most of the plantations which I saw were as well cared for as those in Europe.

The impression that one receives by reading the descriptions of the first visitors to the island is that plantations were numerous and well ordered. The symmetry of the fields "prettily laid out by line" or "in a rectangular figure" is generally stressed in these early accounts (130, vol. 2, p. 259; 53, vol. 1, p. 294) as well as the fact that there were neither fences nor hedges except around the paper mulberry plantations. A mulch of dried grass was laid over some of the fields to protect the crops from the heat of the sun, to retain moisture, and to serve as manure (83, vol. 1, p. 579; 215, p. 456). Grass was sometimes "burnt in heaps" in order to fertilize the soil with its ashes. De Langle (130, vol. 1, p. 78) praises the soil as "a very fat vegetable earth, very proper for the culture of our grain." Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 41) saw numerous fields along the north coast which, if his statements are correct, bore the mark of an advanced technique: "Such places as were not immediately exposed to the scorching rays of the sun were laid out in oblong strips taking the direction of the ravines; and furrows were ploughed at right angles to them, for the purposes of intercepting the streams of water in their descent."

412 241 The digging stick was used until 1912. It has since been displaced by the plow, the spade, and the iron stick.

[177] There were two kinds of digging sticks. One was very solid, called *oka* or *huki*, and was used to loosen the soil, to break up clods of earth, and to remove stones. It was sometimes replaced by an oblong stone. The other (*akaue*) was thinner, a real dibble used to plant tubers. To plant yams or sweet potatoes is *hao*; to plant sugar cane or bananas is *oka*. The ancient word for "to harvest," "dig out" yams, taro, or sweet potatoes is *huaki*, but the word *keri* is more generally known today. The act of weeding is called *vere*.

241 462 Agriculture is largely the work of men though harvesting is done by both men and women. Men plant tubers and sow corn. Formerly the entire extended family cooperated in the tilling of the soil and in planting, but nowadays agriculture is carried on by the owner of the fields, his wife, or his children. Crops were under a *rahui* (tapu) until the moment of harvesting was [821] authorized by the chief. The positions of certain stars (*matamea*) fixed the time for crops and the harvest was accompanied by great feasts.

241 The efforts of ancient agriculturalists have been greatly underestimated. It is no easy task to remove the stones from the ground, to pull up the long-rooted weeds which cover it, then to loosen the soil, to build mounds, and finally to cover the young plants with grass. These requirements, coupled with the fact that the climate permits the growing of crops the year around, explain why Easter Islanders do not cultivate large areas.